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ABSTRACT

A course titled "Interdisciplinary Research in Mass Communication," drawing on law, business, economics, and communication, was offered at Stanford. This syllabus presents the seven topics considered in the course: the citizen's need to know, the new communication media, privacy, media concentration, access, advertising and consumerism, and using the mass media for political purposes. For each topic, the following material is included: a several-page overview, an outline of major points germane to the topic, an annotated bibliography, and questions for discussion. (JK)

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INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY OF

THE MASS MEDIA

A Syllabus

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Trevor R. Brown (Communication)

Marc A. Franklin (Law)

David L. Grey (Communication)

Michael L. Ray (Business)

William L. Rivers (Communication)

James N. Rosse (Economics)

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Stanford University

August 1971

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7.	USING THE MASS MEDIA FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES	71

PREFACE

This syllabus is built on an experience. In the Fall Quarter of 1970-71, teachers of Law, Business, Economics, and Communication at Stanford offered "Interdisciplinary Research in Mass Communication," a course designed to explore the mass media from several perspectives. In addition to the teachers listed on the title page of this syllabus, several others led seminar sessions on special subjects:

John Barton of the Stanford Law School on legal aspects of media concentration; George Day of the Stanford Graduate School of Business on advertising and the consumer;

Lance Hoffman of Electrical Engineering and Computer Sciences, University of California at Berkeley, on computers and privacy;

Bruce Owen of the U.S. Office of Telecommunications Policy on public policy aspects of media concentration;

Edwin Parker of the Stanford Department of Communication on the new media and public policy;

Joshua Lederberg, Professor of Genetics and Biology in the Stanford School of Medicine, on the problems of media coverage of science.

Those who are accustomed to thinking of one course-one teacher will surely consider this an appallingly long list of teachers. Certainly the unity and coherence of a course is threatened by sheer numbers; indeed, disunity is almost assured.

The question for those planning such a wide-ranging course is whether the values of unity overbalance the values of diversity and the riches offered by many different perspectives.

Trevor Brown, who is chiefly responsible for writing and compiling the materials in the pages that follow, accurately describes this syllabus as "both a record of our experiment and an attempt to fashion a better one for others." It is based on the topics we covered, which were not, of course, all the topics that might be appropriate. We would have covered our topics more coherently had a syllabus such as this been available. Our floundering became apparent reviewing the tape recordings of the course lectures and class discussions; they became valuable because they enabled us to impose some measure of coherence and order on a wide range of facts and ideas in this syllabus.

The range is so wide that some may consider it much too ambitious for a single course. The authors certainly hope that the syllabus will be adapted and used in many different ways. All seven topics can usefully provide the basis for a single course if the aim is to touch many subjects in a way that will enable students to choose their own research projects from a rich variety. The most successful aspect of our course was the stimulus it provided for student research.

Among the notable papers are:

"Prospects for Communication Policy" by Susan Krieger, a graduate student in Communication, which will be published in the Winter, 1971, issue of Policy Sciences. She is also submitting for publication a paper titled "Privacy Is Not the Issue."

A paper on commercial credit bureaus and privacy by Lenore Cooper, a law student, which is being considered for publication by the Stanford Law Review.

"Measuring Quality in the Mass Media" by Charlene Brown, a graduate student in communication, which placed third in the annual Leslie G. Moeller Student Paper competition of the Association for Education in Journalism.

We cannot know all the effects of the course we offered. Nor can we know the effects that may be produced by this syllabus. Although nothing in these pages pretends to be exhaustive, we hope that everything contributes to a viable plan for shining several different kinds of lights on the mass media.

We are grateful to the National Science Foundation, especially to the Advanced Science Education program of the Division of Graduate Education in Science, for the funds that enabled us to offer the course and publish this syllabus.

William L. Rivers
Stanford University
August, 1971

TOPIC 1 THE CITIZEN'S NEED TO KNOW

Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?
Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?
T. S. Eliot

A statesman is an easy man
He tells his lies by rote;
A journalist makes up his lies
And takes you by the throat;
So stay at home and drink your beer
And let the neighbours vote....
W. B. Yeats

Over 15 years ago Warren Breed concluded that this was the basic problem of democracy:

> to what extent should the individual be treated as a member of a mass, and to what extent fashioned (through educative measures) as an active participant in public decisions? Readership studies show that readers prefer "interesting" news and "features" over penetrating analyses. It can be concluded that the citizen has not been sufficiently motivated by society (and its press) to demand and apply the information he needs, and to discriminate between worthwhile and spurious information, for the fulfillment of the citizen's role.

Increasingly during the years since Breed came to that conclusion democracy's dilemma has been resolved, by the media at least, by treating man as member of an undifferentiated mass, as an information receiver or consumer. The information com-

municated has been selected more as a result of an assessment of what the largest or modal number of people is likely to consume than of what the individual needs "for the fulfillment of the citizen's role."

Although critics have deplored the media's subservience to the mass, or to the advertiser who wants the most for his message, they have nonetheless evaluated media performance largely without reference to information necessary for the individual to fulfill the citizen's role. Such criteria as those suggested in the 1947 report of the U.S. Commission on Freedom of Speech and included in the Radio and Television Codes have informed their judgments, but critics have tended to measure media performance against such vague standards as the generally acknowledged paragon of each medium, or by matching one medium against another.

Some assumption of what the individual needs to know has been implicit, of course, an assumption which underlies the libertarian and social responsibility theories of the press. He needs to know the facts and the truth about the facts which will enable him to promote and protect his legitimate interests and to function as an effective citizen. And these facts are? They are seldom explicitly stated, but emerge indirectly, from studies, for example, of public knowledge. Whether the facts used to measure the state of public knowledge are those essential

to the citizen in a democracy is rarely questioned, let alone investigated.

The media select the facts invariably on the basis of newsworthiness, and what constitutes news has been a mix, varying in proportion with the responsibility of the newspaper, radio or television station, of what newsmen think the public should know and what they think the largest number will buy, both ingredients governed by timeliness, a requirement at the core of Reed Whittemore's comment that "the journalist is controlled by that uncontrollable nonsense we call news."

He is controlled, too, by government secretiveness. An example, and a test of newsmen's responsibility, was the dispute between the New York Times and the Government over whether publication of the Pentagon Papers in June 1971 was prejudicial to the national interest. "The Nixon administration," said Vice President Agnew, "has a great deal more confidence in the judgment of the elected officials of this country than in the New York Times." Times associate editor Tom Wicker commented that to advance the argument that the people of the U.S. would be better off and the national interest further advanced if the study were locked in the Pentagon's vaults "would be to assert that truth has less value than deception, and that in a democracy the people ought not to know."

As mergers, monopolies and conglomerates have developed

within and between media, fear has grown that the newsman is further controlled, that the facts, interpretations and opinions presented support the vested interests of the media owners and their social peers. The underground press, for example, rejects the media's image of reality and there is evidence that an increasing number of minority and subgroups consider that image alien to their experience. Breed's study (2) of the newspaper journalist's socialization to conform to the policy of the employer and Donohew's study (4) of the employer's social group pointed the danger. Now the media are criticized as never before, not only by politicians, professionals and academics, but by the public itself.

James Rosenau argues that because of rising educational levels and the civil rights movement, whose comparative success has served as a model motivating involvement, "a small, but nonetheless steady, expansion in the number of citizens who develop and maintain a continuing interest in public affairs" is occurring and at a rate greater than the growth of population. Spokesmen of a more activist citizenry demand greater access to the media, demand media more responsive to the people, and want to communicate to and through the media and not the other way round.

Although discontent is widespread, these demands come not from a monolithic mass but from diverse minorities, from ethnic

and other subgroups and publics, whose information wants and needs mass-oriented media have been ignorant of, or unwilling to satisfy, or incapable of satisfying. Which is not to say the media have ignored minorities. Protest makes news; what precedes and produces protest tends not to. The identity of the more activist publics has emerged in crisis and conflict, but their significance for the media has tended to be as ephemeral as the day's headlines. Yet research has developed various social and psychological predictors of adult information seeking and media use and has identified a clearly profiled audience for each medium. Such research suggests that "growing knowledge of adult information seeking leads to communication strategies fitted to the needs and dispositions of the target audience" (12).

The growth of citizens' interest in public affairs and of knowledge about media audiences coincides with the development of new technology offering the opportunity for receiver control of the media, for more interaction between the various publics and their press. New media like cable television and time-shared computers will enable the presentation of a wider diversity of information which, under the library system promised, will be available whenever the citizen wants it.

Asked once what he and his American Federation of Labor

wanted, Samuel Gompers replied, "More!" His response is not only characteristic of a people of plenty, one socialized to consume constantly, but now is in the nature of a panacea. Yet it is doubtful that the media can be criticized for failure to provide a sufficiency of information, or that more information will improve the state of public knowledge. Not only, as George Miller writes, does "the span of absolute judgment and the span of immediate memory impose severe limitations on the amount of information that we are able to receive, process, and remember" (10), but large sections of the public, some chronic know-nothings, others screening out information through such processes as selective exposure and perception, apparently ignore what is provided (7).

Research findings which document these practices should temper our criticism and expectations of the media, old and new. The fault may nevertheless lie in the media's treatment both of their audiences and of the information they communicate. Media characterized increasingly by bigness and fewness and dependent on advertisers lusting after a homogeneous mass have not found it easy to cater to individuals or diverse minorities. Nor has the notion of a pluralistic society appealed much to a country where the myth of the melting pot is tenacious.

The Citizen's Need to Know

In their review of selective exposure research Freedman and Sears (5) suggested that the perceived utility of information may affect exposure preferences rather than any general psychological preference for information compatible with pre-existing beliefs. Organizers of a six-month multi-media information campaign in Cincinnati in September 1947 to make the city more United Nations-conscious concluded that "information grows interesting when it is functional, that is, when it is so presented that it is seen to impinge upon one's personal concerns" (15).

Warren Breed, it seems, did not pose the basic problem of democracy properly. That problem, especially for the media, is how to educate and enable the individual to participate actively in public decisions, how to provide, and make relevant, information necessary for him to promote and protect his legitimate interests and to function as an effective citizen.

Students of the new media assure us that we are at a pivotal point in communication history. There is a chance for the public to influence the structure and operation of these media before they are established beyond public reach, a chance to assure participation in and even control of decisions about the information presented. Simultaneous with the citizen's opportunity to secure satisfaction of his diverse wants is

the media's opportunity to satisfy his diverse needs. Research is indicated to come to grips with what these are so that the citizen's need to know may provide the perspective for assessment of media performance and of policies designed to improve it.

TOPIC 1 THE CITIZEN'S NEED TO KNOW

TOPICAL OUTLINE		REFERENCE KEY
I.	The Role and Responsibility of the Media: Theory	8, 14, 13
	The Role of the Media: What the People Say	1, 3
	Criteria for Judging Media Performance: the Codes	13
II.	The Citizen's Need for Information	
	What information is necessary to promote and protect his legitimate interests? To enable him to function as an effective citizen?	
	How can we identify these needs?	
III.	Public Knowledge and Patterns of Information	
	Seeking: State of Public Knowledge: Who Knows What?	
	Images and Stereotypes: Whose Facts, Truths, and Realities?	9, 2, 6, 4, 11
	Which People Use Which Media?	12
	Barriers to the Flow of Information and Ideas	7, 10, 5, 15, 1
IV.	The Media as Informers and Teachers	
	What can we realistically expect of them?	
	The New Media: what should we expect of them?	

TOPIC 1 THE CITIZEN'S NEED TO KNOW

Selected Basic Reading:

Boulding, Kenneth E. The Image: Knowledge in Life and Society. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961. Boulding proposes an organic theory of knowledge and discusses the growth of images (what he calls subjective knowledge), both private and public, in individuals, in organizations, and in society. He asks whether the concept of the image cannot become the abstract foundation of a new science or cross- disciplinary specialization, the science of Eiconics.

Schramm, Wilbur and Serena Wade "The Mass Media as Sources of Public Affairs, Science, and Health Knowledge." Public Opinion Quarterly, Summer 1969. In their review of over 20 years of surveys of the state of public knowledge, the authors break down the public demographically to find out who knows what and from which media.

Siebert, Fred S., Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm Four Theories of the Press. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963. The authors argue that the press always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates, and examine the philosophical and political rationales which lie behind the different press systems in the world.

Additional Readings:

1. Berelson, Bernard "What 'Missing the Newspaper' Means." In Public Opinion and Propaganda. Daniel Katz, Dorwin Cartwright, Samuel Eldersveld, and Alfred McClung Lee (eds.), New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1960, pp. 263 - 271. Report on an exploratory survey conducted during a newspaper strike in July 1945 to gauge public attitudes to the newspaper. Berelson found a significant difference between respondents' general protestations of interest in the newspaper's "serious" purpose and in their specific desires and practices in newspaper reading.

2. Breed, Warren "Social Control in the News Room." Social Forces, May 1955. Also in Mass Communications, Wilbur Schramm, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1960, pp. 178 - 194. A survey of how reporters are socialized to conform to the policy of their employers.

3. Bush, Chilton R. ed. News Research for Better Newspapers. New York: American Newspaper Publishers Foundation Association. Vols. I - V. Bush's digest of research into newspapers reports many readership studies showing how people read their newspapers, what sections and information they prefer.

4. Donohew, Lewis "Publishers and Their 'Influence' Groups." Journalism Quarterly, 42: 112 - 113 (Winter 1965). In a study of the occupations and political affiliations of persons in a position to influence publishers on local and national issues, Donohew found some support for the hypothesis that there is an occupational bias in the publisher's circle of close acquaintances.

5. Freedman, Jonathan L. and David O. Sears "Selective Exposure." In Advances in Experimental Social Psychology. L. Berkowitz (ed.), Vol. II. New York: Academic Press, 1965, pp. 57 - 97. Although research supports the notion of selective exposure, the authors question whether a general psychological preference exists for information compatible with existing beliefs. They suggest that groups least likely to be reached by information campaigns do not necessarily avoid information foreign to their beliefs and opinions. Exposure to information, they argue, is likely to depend on its perceived utility.

6. Garvey, Daniel E., Jr. "Social Control in the Television Newsroom." Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1971. Garvey found social control to be a far more complex phenomenon than Warren Breed described. Garvey concluded that staff members absorb the managerial viewpoint as a result of working in a newsroom over a period of years, though there is evidence that policy absorption actually declines in staff members having greater lengths of employment.

The Citizen's Need to Know

7. Hyman, Herbert H. and Paul B. Sheatley "Some Reasons Why Information Campaigns Fail." In Public Opinion and Propaganda. Daniel Katz et al (eds.), New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1960. An examination of the psychological barriers to the flow of ideas, such as chronic know nothings, the role of interest and motivation in increasing exposure, selective exposure and interpretation. The authors conclude that those responsible for information campaigns tend to overlook such barriers in their eagerness to distribute more information, that they cannot rely simply on increasing the flow to spread their information effectively.

8. Lasswell, Harold D. "The Structure and Function of Communication in Society." In Mass Communications, Wilbur Schramm (ed.), Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960, pp. 117 - 130. Lasswell examines the act of communication as a whole in relation to the entire social process and identifies three functions which the communication process performs in society: surveillance of the environment; correlation of the components of society in making a response to the environment; and transmission of the social inheritance.

9. Lippmann, Walter Public Opinion. New York: The Free Press, 1965 (originally published in 1922). There is much in this classic study pertinent to the problem of an informed public in a democracy and the reader is encouraged to dip in wherever he thinks relevant. The chapters on "Stereotypes" (Part 3) and on "Newspapers" (Part 7) particularly commend themselves.

10. Miller, George A. "The Magical Number Seven, Plus or Minus Two: Some Limits on Our Capacity for Processing Information." The Psychological Review, vol. 63, March 1956. Miller reviews experiments in absolute judgment, on the capacity of people to transmit information, and concludes that the span of absolute judgment and the span of immediate memory impose severe limitations on the amount of information we are able to receive, process and remember.

The Citizen's Need to Know

11. Mungo, Raymond Famous Long Ago: My Life and Hard Times with Liberation News Service. Boston: Beacon Press, 1970. Mungo, one of the founders of the anti-establishment Liberation News Service, says he is "not about to recount the ideas which LNS published or describe the contents of your average underground newspaper." His purpose is to give an understanding of the "way we lived." Nevertheless Mungo does discuss the LNS's approach to news, to fact and truth (see especially pp. 75 - 78).

12. Rees, Matilda B. and William J. Paisley "Social and Psychological Predictors of Information Seeking and Media Use." Adult Education Journal, vol. 19, 1968, pp. 11 - 29. A report on patterns of multivariate prediction for 25 media use and information seeking behaviors based on data collected in Fresno, California, in 1965. Predictors include such socio-personal variables as age, sex, education, income, etc., and three psychological variables -- achievement motivation, perception of practical education in the media, and perception of positive consequences from new media.

13. Rivers, William L. and Wilbur Schramm Responsibility in Mass Communication. New York: Harper and Row, 1969 (Revised edition). An evaluation of media performance, of their relationship with government and their responsibilities to the public. The book is also a handy reference for the various media codes: the canons of journalism, and the radio, television and movie codes.

14. Schramm, Wilbur "The Nature of Human Communication." Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University, 1966. In his extension of Professor Lasswell's discussion of the structure and function of communications, Professor Schramm sees communications as a relationship, an act of sharing, rather than something someone does to someone else. He examines communications both from the sender's and the receiver's perspectives and views its function socially and individually.

15. Star, Shirley A. and Helen MacGill Hughes "The Cincinnati Plan for the United Nations." American Journal of Sociology, vol. LV, January 1950. The authors conclude after their study of a six-month multi-media information campaign in September 1947 to make Cincinnati United Nations-conscious that the people reached were those least in need of the information and that the people missed by it were the new audience the plan hoped to gain. In order for information to be interesting, they argue, it must be presented so that it is seen to impinge upon one's personal concerns.

The Citizen's Need to Know

Questions for Discussion:

1. Should we worry that the leadership elite of society, in government, politics, business and industry and in education, is likely to make the decisions about what citizens need to know? Is the system of the people's elected representatives making such decisions on their behalf adequate in this respect?

2. When we talk of the need in a democracy for citizens actively participating in public decisions, should we require that they be fully informed about everything? Or can we trust the people to make wise judgments by intuition and instinct with whatever information they have now? Are they not, indeed, flooded in information already?

3. If we do require that citizens be much more fully informed than they are now, should it be the media's role to inform and educate them, or should it be the role of formal educational institutions? Should we, for example, concentrate more on adult education than on the media in this respect? And provide economic and other incentives to motivate them to gain more adult education?

The Citizen's Need to Know

4. Implicit in the discussion of the citizen's need to know, and in the topics which follow, is the need for change in our media so that they become more responsive to the needs and interests of the people. Can we achieve such change merely by tinkering with the media? Or is more thorough-going change of the entire social, political and economic system necessary before we can achieve meaningful change in the media?

TOPIC 2 THE NEW COMMUNICATION MEDIA

> I believe that the way to come to terms with technology today is, first, to understand it and, then, to encourage its good effects on the human condition and at the same time to try to discourage its bad effects. I cannot follow the mystique that technology has laws of its own, over and beyond human intervention.
>
> Stuart Chase

> To say that any technology or extension of man creates a new environment is a much better way of saying that the medium is the message.
>
> Marshall McLuhan

Largely through the work of Harold Innis and Marshall McLuhan we have come to view the communication system of any society, and the technology that makes the system possible, as an integral component of the social structure, without which the society itself would be quite different in many respects.

In the United States sophisticated transportation and related communication systems have offered models of social behavior different from individuals' face-to-face groups, so increasing people's geographic and psychic mobility, and the range and rate of possible social change. This is not to exaggerate the role of technological change in major social change -- social interactions are too complex for such an oversimplification. Nevertheless changes in communication technology permitting easy electronic access to information without requiring transportation may well be the most significant technological and social change of the twentieth century.

The New Communication Media

Computer technology has revolutionized society's capacity for storing, manipulating, and transmitting information. The technology's application to mass communication through time-shared computers and cable television introduces a radical new property absent in previous mass media: the receiver can control what is transmitted over the channel more directly than the sender of the message; he can also put information into the storage medium as well as retrieve it. Several time-shared computer systems already exist, libraries being the first communication institution to use such systems. Although cable television is over 20 years old, the early systems had only five channels whereas current systems permit more than 40 channels with common carrier potential, and mergers and joint operating agreements between computer time-sharing companies and cable television operators are likely to develop to offer computer based services to customers via cable television. To capitalize on such potential, all purpose communication terminals for television, computer services and video cassettes are presently being developed for the home.

On the face of it then the new technology promises much for a democracy: more information, greater access to that information and the many advantages which flow from receiver control -- individualized information, power of selection and

improved feedback. The educational potential of the new media is enormous. So persuasive is analysis of new media technology's social benefits that it is tempting to conclude: "I have seen the future and it works." We have to make it work; we suffer enough already from the consequences of poorly planned, uncontrolled technological change.

A tendency toward monopoly has long been evident in the communication industry and the new technology is prey to that danger. Inequitable distribution of information and of the power which information gives will destroy the major benefit of the new technology -- a better informed public sharing power more equally. That benefit may itself have flaws. The new technology is likely to accelerate present trends toward pluralism and diversity, a consequence unappealing to those who value homogeneity and consensus. The most conspicuous disadvantage of computer technology is the problem of privacy. The computer's phenomenal capacity for storing information seems technologically limitless; its ability to protect the security of sensitive data is technologically limited, although cost is a restraint on both.

Much of the new technology and its problems are already with us, but there is still time for the public to influence policy, especially in the area of government regulation of

communication. Power is still available for citizens to intervene in problems of immediate concern, such as privacy, access and the development of cable television. More important, an opportunity exists for researchers to investigate and anticipate the possible effects of the new media over the longer term, so avoiding some of the communication developments of the past which plague us now.

TOPIC 2 THE NEW COMMUNICATION MEDIA

TOPICAL OUTLINE	REFERENCE KEY
I. The Role of Communications and Technology in the Social Structure and in Social Change	7, 11
II. What are the New Media?	6, 2
Time-shared computers and Information Utilities	
Cable television	13
Video Cassettes	1, 4
Picture Phone	
III. What is their potential?	6, 2, 9
Storage and transmission of information	
Receiver control	
Access -- common carrier	
Diversity and individualized information	
Life-long learning	
Substitution of communication for high-energy consumption and pollution producing transportation systems	
IV. What are the Problems, Disadvantages and Dangers?	6, 2, 9
Monopoly and concentration	
Inequitable distribution of information and power	
Privacy	
Psychological effects on children and the family of education and socialization by machine	

TOPIC 2 THE NEW COMMUNICATION MEDIA

TOPICAL OUTLINE	REFERENCE KEY
V. Economics of the New Media	5, 3
VI. Implications of the New Media for Communication Policy and Planning	6, 2, 8, 9, 10, 14

TOPIC 2 THE NEW COMMUNICATION MEDIA

Selected Basic Reading:

Parker, Edwin B. "Technological Change and the Mass Media." In Handbook of Communication. Ithiel Pool, Wilbur Schramm, Nathan Maccoby, Edwin Parker, Frederick Frey, Leonard Fein (eds.), Chicago: Rand McNally, (in press). After an overview of the information utility likely to emerge from the application of computer technology, Professor Parker discusses the social advantages and disadvantages of the technology and considers the value of a national communication policy and the economic case for investing in communication systems.

Additional Readings:

1. Alpert, Hollis "The Cassette Man Cometh." Saturday Review, January 30, 1971. The author examines what the video cassette will mean for the average consumer, what he can expect to see on his machine, how much machines and programs are likely to cost, and when he can expect to buy such machines.

2. Bagdikian Ben H. The Information Machines: Their Impact on Men and the Media. New York: Harper and Row, 1971. Incorporates and reviews a number of research projects done by the RAND Corporation, considers the vast potential of cable transmission and the home information machine and the ways these will affect people's communication and business behavior.

3. Barnett H. J. and E. Greenberg, "On the Economics of Wired City Television," American Economic Review, 1968. The authors consider the benefits which might justify an investment cost of about $60 a home for wiring a city -- number of channels; cost, numbers and diversity of offerings; picture quality; cost savings for homes and broadcasters; spectrum saving; and flexibility for further communication innovations. The potential of cable television overcomes, they maintain, such obstacles and objections to its introduction as the expense of the service to rural areas, the cheaper

over-the-air broadcasting in densely-populated areas, and the high programming costs of a 20-channel system.

4. Berger, Ivan "Someday Morning for the Culture Cans." Saturday Review, January 30, 1971. A brief summary of the different video player and record player systems to be sold in the U.S. market.

5. Comanor, William S. and Bridger M. Mitchell "Cable Television and the Impact of Regulation." The Bell Journal of Economics and Management Science, vol. 2, (Spring 1971), pp. 154 - 212. The authors explore the economic effects and impact on the structure of costs and demand of recently proposed regulations by the FCC by means of a detailed simulation model of a typical firm. They conclude that the regulations will reduce substantially the rates of return to the point where large-scale expansion of cable television service is unlikely except by very large firms in both large and smaller markets.

6. Goldhamer, Herbert (ed.) "The Social Effects of Communication Technology." The RAND Corporation, May 1970 (report R-486-RSF). A nontechnical review of the principal technological developments underlying the communication revolution, and of the possible social consequences of that revolution.

7. Innis, H. A. The Bias of Communication. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951. The Canadian economic historian who so influenced McLuhan explores the psychic and social consequences of communication and of the communication system's integral role in the social structure.

8. Johnson, Leland L. "The Future of Cable Television: Some Problems of Federal Regulation." The RAND Corporation, January 1970 (report RM-6199-FF). Johnson considers the problem of designing well-conceived regulatory policies in light of the prospects and conflicts posed by the future growth of cable television. He concludes that prospects are good for permitting cable to grow under liberal FCC rules, without endangering the viability of either commercial or non-commercial broadcast.

9. Johnson, Nicholas "Communications and the Year 2000" and "CATV: Promise and Peril." In How to Talk Back to Your Television Set. New York: Bantam, 1970. Commissioner Johnson's FCC experience provides a useful perspective on issues posed by new media technology.

10. Krieger, Susan "Prospects for Communication Policy." To appear in Policy Sciences, fall or winter, 1971. An examination of certain conceptual premises of concern to persons doing communication policy research and planning. The author argues that we must admit a broader range of goals, that we will have to change present conceptual approaches, moving from regulation to investment, from information goods to communication resources, from consumerism to politics.

11. McLuhan, Marshall Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965 (paperback edition). To answer the questions: what are communications and how do they affect mankind? McLuhan interprets the entire process of communication from the invention of movable type through the electronic age in terms of his famous assertion: "The medium is the message."

12. Owen, Bruce M. "Public Policy and Emerging Technology in the Media." Public Policy, vol. 18 (Summer 1970). Owen considers the positive role that regulatory agencies and Congress can play in achieving the policy goals of economic efficiency, consumer sovereignty and political independence made possible by media technology.

13. Smith, Ralph Lee "The Wired Nation." The Nation, May 18, 1970. A basic primer on cable television, its possibilities and problems, which considers such questions as: who will run it, under whose supervision and for whose benefit?

14. Sucherman, Stuart P. "Cable TV: An Endangered Revolution." Columbia Journalism Review, May, June 1971. Sucherman worries that FCC hearings on the future of cable television have been ignored by the public and the news media, and that cities have been granting franchises in an information vacuum.

The New Communication Media

Questions for Discussion:

1. What is the most effective way of channeling the new technology to human good? Unrestrained market forces or some form of government regulation? What form and how much regulation?

2. A major argument against national investment in information is that such investment is not worth the cost because people urgently in need of, yet comparatively poor in, information will not use it anyway. What flaws do you see in this argument?

3. How could society stimulate its citizens to perceive the value and utility of the kind of information new technology can provide?

4. Given the pressing social problems of America -- pollution, urban blight, population growth, racial conflict, etc. -- and the competing claims for federal expenditure, how would you argue the claim of a computer-based instruction and information system?

5. By allowing the citizen more freedom to avoid information he does not want to receive, does receiver control violate

a vital principle of the free marketplace of ideas -- exposure to as wide a diversity of information as possible? Will it increase the likelihood of selective exposure to ideas congenial to him?

6. If greater diversity in media content catering to the interests and needs of the many subgroups within society does follow from the new technology, is there a danger that the public will be so fragmented as to make impossible achievement of that minimal consensus necessary for decision-making in a democracy?

7. "The generation gap" is blamed for a bewildering number of symptoms of contemporary discontent. Will the home information utility so increase children's communication with and dependence on machines as to widen that gap?

TOPIC 3 PRIVACY

As to privacy, if we are to be shackled in our inmost intercourse with our closest friends by the fear of future vermin, we may as well resign all liberty, and all thought of elbow-room for fun and confidence of any kind, at once.

Algernon Charles Swinburne

In times past, privacy has seemed both plentiful and indestructible, and its value has been largely ignored. Now we are losing it, and once lost, it may never be regained. Crush privacy for a generation and it may be gone forever.

Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General

The assertion of the individual's right of privacy has fought, and continues to fight, two battles. The first, against the press and the freedom guaranteed it by the First Amendment, seems increasingly to have been decided in the press's favor. The second, against computer and surveillance technology used by business and industry and by government, is still in contention.

The existence of a legal right of privacy is comparatively recent, one virtually invented by lawyers Louis Brandeis and Samuel Warren in 1890 (10). Alarmed at the consequences for individuals "when gossip attains the dignity of print," they criticized the prevailing content of newspapers. "Gossip is no longer the resource of the idle and of the vicious," they wrote, "but has become a trade, which is pursued with industry as well as effrontery." Noting that their famous article arose from an unpleasant personal encounter with the press, one writer

characterized their argument as "something of a lawyer's catharsis rather than objective scholarship and judicial craftsmanship." Certainly the law has struggled to incorporate the privacy concept, and scholarly disagreement continues over its utility and appropriateness.

Dean William Prosser argues that privacy involves not one tort but four (7). Professor Bloustein dissents; he sees a single binding principle, that of the inviolate personality and its pursuit of happiness (1). Professor Kalven concedes the value of privacy but argues that Warren and Brandeis labored mightily to produce a petty tort (3).

By far the most frequently litigated privacy claim involves publication by the media of facts about a person's life that he did not want known. After early uncertainty about the wisdom of creating liability for such behavior, the courts began to embrace the action -- only to find themselves running into the counter trend of strong emphasis on the First Amendment that began in the 1930's. Since then, the courts have tended to protect the press by enlarging the bounds of newsworthiness so as to justify the stories.

The courts have been less protective of communications that attempt to transmit information to persons who do not wish to receive it. Thus, there is a developing tendency to protect

an individual against unwanted mail and other intrusions into his desired privacy.

Enthusiasm about the computer's incredible capacity for storing and processing information and the improved social planning and administration this promises has largely submerged the social cost of technology's wonders. Politicians like Congressman Gallagher and Senator Ervin, and academics like Professors Westin and Miller, sound warnings and raise questions only now being confronted.

"The lack of concern over these data gathering activities probably reflects the fact that by and large they are well-intended efforts to achieve socially desireable ends," said Professor Miller in his testimony before the hearing of Senator Ervin's subcommittee on Constitutional Rights in February 1971. However, the information gathering and surveillance activities of the Federal Government, Professor Miller contended, "have expanded to such an extent that they are becoming a threat to several basic rights of every American -- privacy, speech, assembly, association and petition of government."

Among the data collection efforts cited by Miller and other witnesses were the Department of Housing and Urban Development's adverse information file, the NSF's data bank on scientists, the Customs Bureau's computerized suspects

file, the Secret Service's dossiers on "undesireables," the Army's domestic intelligence operations, the FBI's National Crime Information Center, the New York State Identification and Intelligence system, the police department files on political activists in every major city, the Office of Education's migrant worker children data bank, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development's file on loan applicants. These and the many commercial credit bureaus scoop up the electronic tracks trailed by every citizen from birth to death.

The Supreme Court's decision in the White case in April 1971 to ease restrictions on electronic surveillance hints at directions which make Ervin and Miller nervous. In the same month, however, the Fair Credit Reporting Act went into effect, protecting individual privacy to some extent.

At issue then are the private and public priorities of society and the problem of control; and privacy, among other individual rights, appears to be hanging less evenly in the balance of social profit and loss than freedom of information, economic and administrative efficiency, and national security.

TOPIC 3 PRIVACY

TOPICAL OUTLINE		REFERENCE KEY
I.	Privacy: the Legal Concept	
	Is the Warren and Brandeis tort petty?	10, 3
	One tort or four?	7, 1
II.	Privacy and the Press: Freedom of Information	6
	Cases and commentary	
III.	Privacy and Commerce: Freedom from Unwanted Information	
IV.	Privacy and the Computer: Collection of Information	11
	A national data bank?	8, 9, 4
	Data gathering and surveillance by business and industry by government	5
	Technological control of the computer	2
	Surveillance and the Law	
	Legislative proposals and acts for control of data collection: individual's right of access to his file	

TOPIC 3 PRIVACY

Selected Basic Reading:

Franklin, Marc A. Injuries and Remedies: Cases and Materials on Tort Law and Alternatives. Mineola: Foundation Press, 1971, 803 - 844. A basic introduction to tort law aspects of privacy.

Miller, A. R. The Assault on Privacy: Computers, Data Banks and Dossiers. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1971. The most recent and comprehensive work on new technology's threat to privacy.

Additional Readings:

1. Bloustein, Edward J. "Privacy as an Aspect of Human Dignity: An Answer to Dean Prosser." New York University Law Review, 1964. Professor Bloustein disputes Prosser's argument that privacy cases involve four torts, maintaining that tort cases involving privacy are all of one piece and involve a single tort. He sees a common thread of principle running through them: privacy as an aspect of the pursuit of happiness, and argues that we should regard privacy as a single dignitary tort.

2. Hoffman, Lance J. "Computers and Privacy: A Survey." Computing Surveys, June 1969. Professor Hoffman surveys the problem of access control and privacy in computer systems in terms of existing systems and current proposals, reviews suggested legal and administrative safeguards and discusses current technology, its limitations and proposed additional safeguards.

3. Kalven, Harry, Jr. "Privacy in Tort Law: Were Warren and Brandeis Wrong?" Law and Contemporary Problems, 1966. The author argues that the discoverers of the legal right of privacy labored mightily to produce a petty tort. He contends that the tort has no legal profile, questions whether it is a viable tort remedy, and

predicts that privacy will recruit claimants inversely to the magnitude of the offence to privacy involved.

4. National Academy of Sciences Computer Science and Engineering Board Project on Computer Data Banks. The Board's report is due in September 1971.

5. Newsweek "Is Privacy Dead?" 27 July 1970. An account of the horrors suffered by citizens in their relationship with computers.

6. Pedrick, Willard H. "Publicity and Privacy: Is It Any of Our Business?" University of Toronto Law Journal, 1970. The author argues for an expansion of the rights of the plaintiff in the media disclosure cases.

7. Prosser, W. L. "Privacy." California Law Review, August 1960. A comprehensive review of cases dealing with the right to privacy. Prosser argues that four distinct torts can be described: intrusion upon seclusion or solitude, or into private affairs; public disclosure of embarrassing private facts; publicity which places the plaintiff in a false light in the public eye; appropriation for the defendant's advantage of the plaintiff's name or likeness.

8. Sawyer, S. and H. Schechter "Computers, Privacy and the National Data Center: the Responsibility of Social Scientists." American Psychologist 23, November 1968. The authors discuss the advantages of the creation of a national data center and the pitfalls vis-a-vis privacy. They suggest that only random samples of respondents be kept since one in 1,000 samples are adequate for most analyses in the social sciences.

9. U.S. Congress "Privacy and the National Data Bank Concept." House Committee on Government Operations, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 2 August 1968. A review of the national data bank concept which explains the advantages and threats if not carefully designed, and suggests detailed procedures, safeguards and alternatives to be considered in formulating specific proposals for a national data bank which can be applied to any data base of sensitive information.

Privacy

10. Warren, Samuel and Louis D. Brandeis "The Right to Privacy." Harvard Law Review, 1890. The seminal article.

11. Westin, A. F. Privacy and Freedom. Atheneum: New York, 1967. In his discussion of the relationship of privacy to freedom Westin traces private rights from 1776 to the present. He considers privacy under four headings: the functions of privacy and surveillance in society; new tools for invading privacy; American society's struggle for controls; and policy choices for the 1970s.

Privacy

Questions for Discussion:

1. What are the competing interests of the plaintiff, the media, and society in cases involving disclosures of facts that the plaintiff would rather not make public?

2. Would it be wise for the law in this area to parallel journalism codes of ethics -- so that what is unethical would also create legal liability?

3. Is it helpful to distinguish two kinds of invasions -- those in which what a person wishes to keep private is revealed to others and those in which the plaintiff himself is subjected to unwanted communications by those who wish to convey information to him?

4. In discussions about data banks and computer invasions of privacy, is the concern directed toward the act of collection itself or toward possibility of unauthorized access and misuse of the data? Are the concerns expressed about files on a person's attendance at political meetings the same as those expressed about files on a person's past financial responsibility?

TOPIC 4 MEDIA CONCENTRATION

Parallel to the development of democratic principles in government and free enterprise in economics has been the history of the libertarian theory of the press. The dominance of its slogans, "the self-righting process" and "the free marketplace of ideas," for over 200 years has largely secured the press from government control and intervention. In this century, however, not only has the rationalism which underlies the theory been questioned but, more important, doubts have increased whether the marketplace is in fact free, and with these doubts has come support for intervention to ensure that the media are socially responsible.

In 1910 there were 2,433 daily newspapers in the United States; today there are about 1,760. Whereas 689 cities enjoyed competing newspapers in 1909-1910, competition survives in fewer than 50 cities today and 50 per cent of all newspapers are chain owned. For much of the same period three wire services competed; in 1958 UP and INS joined to form UPI as AP's main competitor. Soon after the introduction of radio and television the three major networks controlled broadcasting and they now dominate the top 15 stations; 65 per cent of all commercial television stations are chain owned. Increasingly these media have combined into conglomerates: about 30 per cent of all commercial television stations are newspaper owned and there is

substantial newspaper-radio and newspaper-CATV cross-media ownership. Alarming to those who value CATV's common carrier potential is the fact that broadcasters already own 37 per cent of CATV outlets.

In his famous opinion in United States v Associated Press in 1943 Judge Learned Hand argued that monopolistic practices frustrated the objectives of the First Amendment, that "any kind of authoritative selection" of news and information offended the libertarian principle of the free marketplace of ideas. Twenty years later the ANPA, which represents most daily newspaper publishers, contended that fears stemming from the decline of competition were groundless because "radio and TV stations, weekly newspapers and magazines,...and a wide variety of specialized publications, all compete with local daily newspapers in transmitting information and news to the citizens of any specific geographical area." Others have argued that a decline in the number of media units does not necessarily reduce the number and variety of ideas and opinions expressed in them. Keith Roberts and FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson dispute these contentions. They and others articulate a growing fear that media concentration is restricting the free flow of ideas; that the corporate elite favors information and opinion supportive of its own interests to the exclusion of dissenting views,

particularly of minorities -- hence such phenomena as demonstrations and protest and the underground press -- and that such economic power insidiously perverts the professionalism of newsmen.

In 1968 Roberts urged vigorous enforcement of the antitrust laws. Nevertheless the Newspaper Preservation Act of 1970 exempted joint operating agreements in the same market from these laws; antitrust legislation is already difficult to apply to chains. The FCC, however, is trying to break up media concentration through its recent divestiture rules and proposals, and the new White House agency, the Office of Telecommunications Policy, will, according to director Clay T. Whitehead, take an active role in formulating policy in such areas as competition and will make recommendations to the FCC with the force of the President's support behind them.

Governmental dissatisfaction with the media is no novelty; criticism by an active citizenry is. The civil rights movement of the early sixties has been followed by the protests and demands of other minorities, ethnic, economic and sexual, who claim that their views are inadequately represented in the media, so affirming the fears of those who regard mergers, monopolies and conglomerates as threats to the libertarian principles of a free press. At a more generalized level, too, the media

suffer in a climate of hostility to corporations of which they, because of their fewness and fatness, have become conspicuous examples.

TOPIC 4 MEDIA CONCENTRATION

TOPICAL OUTLINE	REFERENCE KEY
I. Merger, Monopoly and Conglomerate: who owns what?	
II. Effects of Concentration	
On libertarian press theory	9, 5
access	9, 5
diversity	2, 10, 8
objectivity and professionalism	1, 3
freedom of information	1, 3
III. Economics of Concentration	
Publishing and print media	6
Broadcasting	5
IV. Control of Concentration	
The courts and antitrust	4
FCC -- licensing and rule-making	4, 7

TOPIC 4 MEDIA CONCENTRATION

Selected Basic Reading:

The Atlantic "Travels in Medialand." (July 1969). Who owns what, where? An Atlantic Atlas of some of the more important individuals in the communications industry and of some of the lesser-known communications combines. Because of the rapid rate of change in ownership the Atlas is about as accurate as the telephone directory, but nevertheless gives the reader a feel for the industry.

Johnson, Nicholas and James M. Hoak, Jr. "Media Concentration: Some Observations on the United States' Experience." Iowa Law Review, December 1970. The authors review the statistics of and arguments against media concentration, and consider solutions to media concentration problems.

Roberts, K. "Antitrust Problems in the Newspaper Industry." Harvard Law Review, v. 82 (December 1968). The small number of competing newspapers in most cities has aroused accusations that news is controlled and counter-assertions that newspaper monopoly is often desirable or economically impelled. Roberts believes that the prevailing scarcity of new entrants into the industry is undesirable and can be attributed in large part to a variety of uncompetitive practices. He concludes that opportunities to compete will greatly benefit from vigorous enforcement of the antitrust laws and from recent advances in printing technology.

Barnett, Steven R. "Cable Television and Media Concentration, Part I: Control of Cable Systems by Local Broadcasters." 22 Stanford Law Review, 1970. After an extensive background on media concentration, Barnett discusses issues raised by common control between cable television systems and television or radio broadcast stations serving the same market. Barnett promises a second article to discuss control of cable systems by daily newspapers serving the same market, by television networks, and by "multiple owners" of cable systems.

Media Concentration

Additional Readings:

1. Breed, Warren "Social Control in the News Room." In Mass Communications, Wilbur Schramm (ed.), University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1960. A survey of how reporters are socialized to conform to the policy of their employers.

2. Blank, D. "The Quest for Quantity and Diversity in Programming." American Economic Review, Papers and Proceedings, v. 56 (May 1966). Blank reports that pay-TV experiments in Toronto, Hartford, Los Angeles and San Francisco show that the offer of diversity was not taken up -- sports and movies were the most popular programs. Nor has the development of CATV, providing additional stations or signals in communities with fewer than three stations, produced diversified programming. The vote of the public in the marketplace, argues Blank, seems to have been for similar not diversified fare.

3. Donohew, Lewis "Publishers and Their 'Influence' Groups." Journalism Quarterly, 42: 112-113 (Winter 1965). Donohew's study finds some support for the hypothesis that there is an occupational bias in the publisher's circle of close acquaintances.

4. Gillmor, Donald M. and Jerome A. Barron Mass Communication Law: Cases and Comment. St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1969, pp. 524-574 and 727-748. The authors present cases and commentary on the issues of media and antitrust and of diversification of ownership.

5. Johnson, Nicholas "The Media Barons and the Public Interest." In How to Talk Back to Your Television Set. New York: Bantam, 1970 (an earlier version of the same article appeared in The Atlantic, June 1968). FCC Commissioner Johnson protests the increasing control of the communication media by local monopolies, regional baronies, nationwide empires and corporate conglomerates, and is alarmed at the impact of ownership on mass media content.

Media Concentration

6. Reddaway, W. B. "The Economics of Newspapers." Economic Journal, v. 73, (June 1963). A study of the economic workings of the British newspaper industry which concludes that the progressive movement toward monopoly inside any one competitive class of newspaper (national quality, national popular, provincial, etc.) is not inevitable. Reddaway suggests there might be scope for more semi-specialized papers since the concentration of appeal has advantages for a selected type of reader and the advertiser who wishes to reach him.

7. Rosse, James N., Bruce M. Owen and David L. Grey "Economic Issues in the Joint Ownership of Newspaper and Television Media." Research Center in Economic Growth, Stanford University, May 1970. In support of the FCC proposed rules the authors offer an analysis of the effects of joint ownership on advertising prices and on the marketplace of ideas; of the issue of cross subsidization; of the effects of divestiture; of the definition of the market for newspapers; and of the alternate policies to increase diversity.

8. Rothenberg, J. "Consumer Sovereignty and the Economics of TV Programming." Studies in Public Communication, v. 4 (Fall 1962). Rothenberg opposes the view that the free market will control, restrain, and guarantee beneficial performance in programming. He argues that the TV market is different from that of most commodities, that the free market likely fails to provide programming for either majority or minority tastes, that without an increase in the number of stations pay-TV may not increase program variety. Because of concentration in the industry a diversity of decision-making and control is required and Rothenberg favors government control over transfer and use of the airways.

9. Siebert, Fred S., et al Four Theories of the Press. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963. In the chapters on Libertarian and Social Responsibility Theory the authors discuss the effect of increasing concentration upon these two theories.

10. Steiner, P. O. "Program Patterns and Preferences, and the Workability of Competition in Radio Broadcasting." Quarterly Journal of Economics, v. 66 (May 1952).

Media Concentration

As a guide to appraisal of the workability of competition in radio broadcasting, Steiner analyzes with emphasis on the implications for public policy: the program pattern that would be socially optimal; the pattern that may be expected to emerge from the structure of the industry; and the extent of the discrepancy between those patterns and the factors contributing to it.

Media Concentration

Questions for Discussion:

1. Does control of the media by a few affect media content? If so, how?

2. What effect does the relationship between owners and their acquaintances and of owners and their reporter employees have on media content?

3. Does diversity of ownership necessarily guarantee or increase the likelihood of the presentation of competing viewpoints in the media? How would you respond to owners' contention (i) that despite the decline in number of newspapers there is considerable competition because of the growth and strength of other media, and (ii) that today's media present as much, if not more, of a range of opinion than they did under conditions of greater newspaper competition?

4. Is there evidence of a growth of cultural pluralism in the United States? If so, do you think the media have kept pace with that growth? Have they published and broadcast the increasing number of viewpoints in society? Does the present economic structure of the media restrict their doing so?

Media Concentration

5. To what extent can antitrust laws correct the problems of media concentration? Or is media concentration the product of market forces beyond the remedy of antitrust laws?

6. What solutions, legal or otherwise, can you propose to increase competition in the media?

TOPIC 5 ACCESS

> The reason /students/ want access to TV is to convert other people to their views. And they want me to be their pipeline. Well, I'm just not. TV is not a forum.
>
> Reuven Frank, president of NBC News

> The letters-to-the-editors sections of newspapers across the nation represent one of the more easily accessible public forums where any and all individuals express their opinions. These sections exist as a cultural heritage stemming from the democratic basis of this nation's birth.
>
> William D. Tarrant

> The competition to be heard in this country is fierce, and those who need not compete, yet are heard anyway... would do better to use their considerable powers to open the air waves in an orderly way to more of the many forces and voices of American society.
>
> "Sedulus," New Republic

"...[the newspaper] industry serves one of the most vital of all general interests: the dissemination of news from as many different sources, and with as many different facets and colors as is possible. That interest is closely akin to, if indeed it is not the same as, the interest protected by the First Amendment; it presupposes that right conclusions are more likely to be gathered out of a multitude of tongues than through any kind of authoritative selection. To many this, and always will be, folly; but we have staked upon it our all."

Thus Learned Hand in 1943. Four years later the U.S. Commission on Freedom of the Press pointed out that libertarian press theory, so admirably articulated by Judge Hand, was no longer adequate, that a free market mechanism for ideas no

longer operated. Daily newspapers had steadily declined in number and relatively few owners controlled those remaining; five publishers accounted for the great bulk of total magazine circulation; another five companies produced almost all movies seen by Americans; and two or three networks served virtually all the broadcasting stations in the nation.

One requirement of the press in contemporary society listed by the Commission was that the press serve as "a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism." Theodore Peterson interpreted this to mean that the media should regard themselves as common carriers of public discussion, "although it does not mean that the laws should compel them to accept all applicants for space...or that one can demand, as a right, that the media disseminate his ideas."

Twenty years later Jerome Barron saw little evidence that the press had followed this requirement. He criticized Supreme Court Justices for their failure "to give the 'marketplace of ideas' the burial it merits." That view, he continued, "has rested on the assumption that protecting the right of expression is equivalent to providing for it....A realistic view of the First Amendment requires recognition that a right of expression is somewhat thin if it can be exercised only at the sufferance of the managers of mass communication."

Access

Professor Barron argued in two articles in 1967 and 1969 for an interpretation of the First Amendment which would impose an affirmative responsibility on the media to act as sounding boards for new ideas and grievances. His thesis largely dictated today's discussion of the problem of access. In Hazel Henderson's view (6) this problem is likely to be the most important issue of the decade and she finds persuasive Barron's interpretation of the First Amendment to resolve it. Dennis Brown and John Merrill (4) and Ben Bagdikian (2), however, react strongly to Barron's argument as it applies to newspapers, to the forced-publishing concept implicit in his proposals. "An extension of Prof. Barron's idea," says Bagdikian, "is that news organizations would tend to become common carriers of other people's views with no control over content." Even if some control were left to publishers, Brown and Merrill emphasize the complexity of decision-making consequent upon a requirement of access: How will decisions be made? If not by publishers, by whom? Which minority positions and which minority spokesmen for these positions would be published? How do you define a "minority?" "Equality of access is an impossibility except under special conditions," concludes Bagdikian.

Because of the notion that the air waves belong to the people and because of the existence of a regulatory agency,

the FCC, and of the Equal Time provisions of Sect. 315 of the 1934 FCC Act and of the Fairness Doctrine, Barron's critics have had fewer theoretical or constitutional reservations about his access proposal as it applies to broadcasting. The practical problem of access exists, of course, in spite of these FCC provisions. Some see a solution to it in the new media, in the multiplicity of channels possible with cable television, especially if cable television becomes a common carrier. The new technology is unlikely to placate Barron, however. "The test of a community's opportunities for free expression," he writes, "rests not so much in an abundance of alternative media but rather in an abundance of opportunities to secure expression in media with the largest impact."

Judge Hand favored "a multitude of tongues" above "any kind of authoritative selection," but to secure access for that multitude some kind of authoritative selection seems unavoidable. That prospect does not dismay Professor Barron. Selection by the audience, however, does. While new technology promises opportunities of access for a multitude of tongues, it will not necessarily open to them media with the largest impact, but will merely expose the multitude to the workings of consumer sovereignty.

Professor Barron predicated his access proposals in part

on the notion that public information is vital to the creation of an informed citizenry, on the importance of confronting citizens with the widest variety of competing ideas. To accomplish this goal he is less unhappy about the dual authoritarianism his proposal apparently involves -- on the media, and on their audiences -- than are his critics. The desirability of his goal is not disputed; its achievement is a problem of complexity, theoretically, constitutionally and pragmatically, one which after decades of concern is no nearer satisfactory resolution.

TOPIC 5 ACCESS

TOPICAL OUTLINE		REFERENCE KEY
I.	Effect of Media Concentration on Libertarian Press Theory	6
II.	Access to the Press	
	Re-interpretation of the First Amendment	6
	Conflict with Freedom of the Press guarantee	2, 4
	Practical problems of access requirements	2, 4, 5
	Right of Reply	11, 5
III.	Access to Broadcasting Media	
	Equal Time and the Fairness Doctrine	
	Listener's right to hear	10
	How to talk back	7
IV.	New Media and the Promise of Access	3
	Access to channels only, or to mass audience?	
	Regulations to secure access	8
	Press Councils	9

TOPIC 5 ACCESS

Selected Basic Reading:

Barron, Jerome A. "Access to the Press -- A New First Amendment Right." Harvard Law Review, 1967. Professor Barron argues that developments in technology and concentration of ownership in the media have virtually destroyed the free marketplace of ideas theory of the press, and proposes an interpretation of the First Amendment which will impose an affirmative responsibility on the monopoly newspaper to act as sounding board for new ideas and old grievances.

_____ "An Emerging First Amendment Right of Access to the Media." George Washington Law Review, 1969. Professor Barron detects encouraging signs that a new approach to the First Amendment is indeed emerging since he wrote his first article on access.

(Both articles appear in Donald M. Gillmor and Jerome A. Barron, Mass Communication Law: Cases and Comment, St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1969, pp. 117 - 141 and 178 - 186.)

Additional Readings:

1. Anawalt, Howard C. "Radio, Television and the Community." 11 Santa Clara Lawyer, Spring 1971. Professor Anawalt argues that three Supreme Court cases -- Red Lion, NAACP vs. Button, and Williams vs. Rhodes -- support a First Amendment right of groups to gain access to broadcasting. He argues also that the public has substantial rights to participate in FCC licensing and rule-making processes as recognized in United Church of Christ cases and FCC pronouncements.

2. Bagdikian, Ben H. "Right of Access: A Modest Proposal." Columbia Journalism Review, Spring 1969. A response to Professor Barron's proposals which favors less dramatic remedies for the problem. Bagdikian proposes instead: a full page with a skilled journalist presenting several ideas of experts on solutions of specific public problems; a daily full page of

letters-to-the-editor; appointment of a fulltime ombudsman to track down complaints; organization of a local press council.

3. Barton, J. H., D. A. Dunn, E. B. Parker, and J. N. Rosse "Non-Discriminatory Access to Cable Television Channels." Institute for Public Policy Analysis, Stanford University, 1971. The authors argue that diversity of programming, the basic objective of the creation of non-discriminatory access, is more likely to be achieved through the operation of a market in cable television channels than through policed local monopolies. They explore the problems of opening up the local market to many diverse program sources by separating the ownership of the cable from the provision of programming, and discuss some alternatives for the definition of legally responsible program sources and appropriate pricing policies for channels subject to compulsory lease.

4. Brown, Dennis E. and John C. Merrill "Regulatory Pluralism in the Press?" Freedom of Information Center Report No. 005, University of Missouri, October 1967. The authors discuss the arguments for and against Professor Barron's proposals. (This article appears in the Gillmor and Barron text, pp. 148 - 150).

5. Grey, David L. and Trevor R. Brown "Letters to the Editor: Hazy Reflections of Public Opinion." Journalism Quarterly, Autumn 1970. This study of 1968 presidential campaign letters-to-the-editor confirmed the research findings of 30 years: that letters are minimally reflective of community feeling. Since research indicates an increase in letter writing, the authors speculate that editorial selection policies are largely responsible for letters' apparent lack of representativeness.

6. Henderson, Hazel "Access to the Media: A Problem in Democracy." Columbia Journalism Review (Spring 1969). A specialist in social problems, the writer speculates that much of the radicalization of American politics may be due to concentration of media ownership in hands dedicated solely to make profits and provide an advertising vehicle. She speculates further that

the battle over access to the media may be the most important constitutional issue of the decade and favors Professor Barron's application of the First Amendment to the problem.

7. Johnson, Nicholas How To Talk Back to Your Television Set. New York: Bantam, 1970. After reviewing many of the issues and problems provoked by television -- concentration, access, etc. -- FCC Commissioner Johnson instructs citizens in the "law" of effective reform, and encourages them to participate in FCC license renewal hearings, to report to the FCC on station performance and to write to station managers.

8. Owen, Bruce M. "Public Policy and Emerging Technology in the Media." Public Policy, v. 18 (Summer 1970). Owen considers the positive role regulatory agencies can play in achieving the policy goals of economic efficiency, consumer sovereignty and political independence made possible by new media technology.

9. Rivers, William L., William B. Blankenberg, Kenneth Starck, Earl Reeves Backtalk: Press Councils in America. San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1971. After a review of press council experiments at the local level in the United States, the authors examine national press councils in other countries, and propose establishment of a national press council for the United States.

10. Thomas, G. L. "The Listener's Right to Hear in Broadcasting." Stanford Law Review, v. 22, (April 1970). Thomas examines the possible development of the right to hear, discusses the implications of FCC program regulation and problems of enforcing alternative regulatory measures detrimental to the economic self-interest of broadcasters, enumerates some of the advantages of CATV and suggests possible strategies for overcoming the formidable resistance of broadcasters to CATV.

11. Wilcox, Walter "Public Favors Right of Reply Whether Question Refers to Newspapers or Individual." American Newspaper Publishers Association, Bulletin No. 10. May 29, 1969.

Access

Questions for Discussion:

1. What views do you think are being excluded from the media? Do you think, for example, that editorial policies on letters-to-the-editor are discriminatory? Do the print and broadcasting media have equal capacities for granting access?

2. In the best of all possible worlds, without regard to constitutional constraint, is the concept of access desirable?

3. Can the concept of access be squared with your understanding of the Constitution?

4. If desirable, apart from constitutional consideration, is the concept feasible? Who should decide what should or should not be published or broadcast? The publisher? Editor? Press council? Station manager? A federal court? The FCC? Must all views be published? If not, which ones? Should all views be given equal prominence, space or time?

5. Does the First Amendment mean that the government cannot intervene in press matters?

6. Are First Amendment freedoms the same for broadcasting as for print media?

Access

7. Distinguish between the concepts, "freedom of the press" and "freedom of information." Does the First Amendment cover both?

8. What functions and powers should press councils have? Advisory? Punitive?

9. What influence do you think the composition of the Supreme Court and of the FCC will have on the future of the concept of access?

TOPIC 6 ADVERTISING AND CONSUMERISM

In 1954 Professor David Potter argued that advertising was one of the very limited group of institutions which can properly be called "instruments of social control," institutions which "guide the life of the individual by conceiving of him in a distinctive way and encouraging him to conform as far as possible to the concept." In contrast to other institutions like the church or the school, he argued that "advertising has in its dynamics no motivation to seek the improvement of the individual or to impart qualities of usefulness, unless conformity to material values may be so characterized.... It has no social goals and no social responsibility for what it does with its influence, so long as it refrains from palpable violations of truth and decency." Potter contended that the most important effects of the advertising institution are not on the economics of the distributive system but on the values of society: "If the economic effect is to make the purchaser like what he buys, the social effect is...to make the individual like what he gets."

Contemporary discontent with "the system," as expressed in the anti-materialist counterculture, very much echoes Potter's critique of the fifties. The adherent of this view clearly does not like what he gets, and he is paralleled in his objections to prevailing social values by the less ideologically

concerned consumer who increasingly does not like what he buys.

Dr. C. H. Sandage sees such criticism of advertising as not basically against advertising as much as it is against abundance, persuasion and the concept of consumer freedom of choice. "Many in our society who have achieved relatively high abundance seem to have a guilt complex growing out of our Puritan heritage," he writes, "Instead of recognizing this for what it is, they attempt to unload their guilt feelings by holding advertising responsible for their 'transgressions'."

At a more specific level many economists charge that among the effects of advertising are excesses in prices, costs, concentration and profits. In response David M. Blank contends that advertising increases the scale of operation of firms, thereby often producing efficiencies and cost reductions; stimulates investment growth and diversity; and contributes substantially to the development of product differentiation which has a constructive effect on product quality.

Possibly as a consequence of such contention about the social and economic costs and benefits of advertising, concern for the consumer -- by government, by consumer activists of the Nader Raider ilk and by advertising itself -- has characterized the late sixties and early seventies. Not only are abuses like fraudulent, misleading and deceptive advertising more rigorously regulated but such measures as truth in packaging,

truth in lending and unit pricing are examples of efforts to improve the informational quality of advertising. Alternative informational sources to advertising increase, the testing and standardization activities of government agencies and publications like Consumer Reports among them.

At the same time technological developments in communication media, the home information utility discussed in Topic 2, for example, promise greater opportunity for the consumer to demand and receive the information he wants when he wants it. Though such "shopping of the future" experiments as that in San Diego struggle to compete against supermarkets and discount stores, there is evidence that the consumer values receiver controlled advertising rather than the traditional learning without awareness advertising format of today's media.

Those who do value this change may have cause for concern therefore about advertising agencies' increasing ownership of cable television, the communication technology vital to receiver control. Professor Potter was especially alarmed that the media are already so much a part of the institutional apparatus of advertising and that the "one basic condition of the media /is/ that they are concerned not with finding an audience to hear their message but rather with finding a message to hold their audience."

Advertising and Consumerism

A combination of consumer activism and new technology promises to reverse that condition. More and more consumers seem to be searching for the messages they want to hear and they're apparently liking less and less what they get, and buy.

TOPIC 6 ADVERTISING AND CONSUMERISM

TOPICAL OUTLINE		REFERENCE KEY
I.	Advertising -- the Institution, its Function and Role	6, 8, 10, 11
	Achievement of abundance	11
	Subsidizer of the media	
	Informer and Persuader	12
II.	The Economic Effects of Advertising	2, 4, 5, 13, 14, 15
III.	Advertising and the Consumer	
	Social effects of advertising	7, 13
	Consumers' view of advertising	3
	Consumers' effect on advertising	9
IV.	Advertising Abuses	1
	Fraudulent, deceptive and misleading advertising	
V.	The New Media and Shopping of the Future	1

TOPIC 6 ADVERTISING AND CONSUMERISM

Selected Basic Reading:

Barban, Arnold M. and C. H. Sandage Readings in Advertising and Promotion Strategy. Homewood: Richard D. Irwin, 1968. Part I - "Advertising in a Social and Economic Context," pp. 3 - 57. The various articles in this section examine the function and role of advertising in our social and economic system and probe the consumer's view of advertising.

Aaker, David A. and George S. Day Consumerism: Search for the Consumer Interest. New York: Free Press, 1971. A collection of readings with some related to the effect of advertising in the consumerism area.

Additional Readings:

1. Advertising Age. This journal regularly includes columns on "the legal front," "Washington Beat," and "It Strikes EB" along with a large number of articles and editorial material, all of which deal with the topic of advertising and consumerism. The 1966-67 volume includes a series by E. B. Weiss on new communication technology.

2. Backman, Jules Advertising and Competition, New York: New York University Press, 1967. This is a report of a study done for The Association of National Advertisers on the effects of advertising on economic conditions. Backman concludes in general that advertising does not have adverse effects on competition.

3. Bauer, Raymond A. and Greyser, Stephen A. Advertising in America: The Consumer View. Boston: Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1968. A report of an extensive field study of consumer perceptions of advertising as an institution and of their reactions to individual advertisements. The study was done under the

sponsorship of The American Association of Advertising Agencies. Bauer and Greyser conclude in general that advertising is not as important as an institution or in terms of individual advertisements as its critics often claim.

4. Comanor, William S. and Wilson, Thomas A. "Advertising Market Structure and Performance," The Review of Economics and Statistics, XLIX, November, 1967, pp. 423 - 440. A thorough econometric study of the effects of advertising on competition.

5. Comanor, William S. and Wilson, Thomas A. These authors have a forthcoming book which is essentially a major expansion of their report of their quantitative studies of the economic effects of advertising.

6. Galbraith, John K. The New Industrial State. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967. Galbraith's statements on advertising, especially those in Chapter 18, "The Management of Specific Demand," develop the rather negative criticism of advertising made in his earlier book, The Affluent Society.

7. Gist, Ronald R. Readings in Marketing and Society. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971. An up-to-date selection of readings covering the legal and society implications of marketing. Chapter 13 covers "promotion and modern marketing." This chapter covers mass media effects.

8. Journal of Marketing, Vol. 42, July 1971. This is a special issue concerning marketing's effect on society and the use of marketing for social purposes. This journal consistently has articles related to the topic of advertising and consumerism, and it has a section entitled "Legal Developments in Marketing" in every issue.

9. Katona, George The Mass Consumption Society. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., 1964. A report of studies done by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. Katona and his group do periodic survey studies of consumer psychological expectations. Katona has concluded from these studies that the consumer is indeed powerful.

Advertising and Consumerism

10. Myers, John G. Social Issues in Advertising. New York: American Association of Advertising Agencies, 1971. A monograph which will be the first chapter of a book with the same title. Myers reviews the literature in this area and reports on a conference sponsored by the American Association of Advertising Agencies.

11. Potter, David M. People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Chapter 8: "The Institution of Abundance: Advertising." Potter argues that advertising is an institution brought into being by abundance, one peculiarly identified with America. He is concerned not only about the extent and nature of its influence but also because, unlike other institutions of social control, advertising has no social goals and no social responsibility for its influence.

12. Stigler, George J. The Intellectual and the Market Place. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1963, pp. 90-91. Includes Stigler's primarily favorable review of advertising as a source of information in the economy.

13. Stigler, George J. "Price and Non-Price Competition," Journal of Political Economy, LXXVI, January-February, 1968, pp. 149-154. Further comments on the value of advertising in the economy.

14. Taplin, Walter Advertising - A New Approach. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown & Company, 1960. An analysis by an economist who was Research Fellow in Advertising and Promotion Activity at the London School of Economics. Taplin's is a "new approach" because he considers some of the psychological motivation that relates to the economic effects of advertising.

15. Telser, Lester G. "Advertising and Competition," Journal of Political Economy, LXXII, No. 6, December, 1964, pp. 537-562. A generally favorable report toward advertising, done by an economist.

16. Toynbee, Arnold "Advertising is Moral Mis-Education," Printers' Ink, May 11, 1962. This historian is against the existence of advertising.

Advertising and Consumerism

Questions for Discussion:

1. Compare and contrast advertising as an institution with other institutions of society such as the schools, religion, the government, and so forth. Is Advertising an institution? How does it differ and in what way is it the same as the other institutions?

2. In what way does advertising threaten freedom of the press? In what way does advertising insure freedom of the press?

3. Some people say, "Advertising makes people buy what they don't need." Do you agree? Under what conditions is this true?

4. What would be the purpose of advertising in forms of economy different from the one we have now?

5. To what extent do you believe that consumer complaints about advertising would be eliminated if consumers had greater control over which messages they would be exposed to?

6. Since advertising costs money, doesn't it follow that consumers get better value by buying products that are unadvertised?

Advertising and Consumerism

7. Is it possible to "create demand?"

8. Is advertising more justifiable for some product categories than for others? Which categories are those? What are the characteristics that differentiate the advertisable and not advertisable categories?

9. Is advertising in some media more justifiable than others? Which media are these? What are the differences in their characteristics?

10. In "The Dialogue that Never Happened," Bauer and Greyser compare the viewpoints of critics and supporters of advertising in terms of their model or conception of how advertising works. What do you believe are the differences in the two viewpoints? Which viewpoint is right and under what conditions do they hold true?

11. The Federal Trade Commission has proposed that corrective advertisements be required of companies found guilty of certain types of misleading advertising. In fact, some advertisers have already run such corrective advertisements. The advertiser publicly retracts his false statements and announces that he was previously deceptive. The purpose of these ads is to dissipate the misleading effect on the consumer, and "deny the wrongdoer the fruits of the violation."

11. (cont.)

Questions:

a. Use an appropriate model or notion about buyer behavior and consumer effects to evaluate the probable response of consumers to a corrective advertisement.

b. For a consumer product of your choice, indicate the probable effects and the pattern of competition if one of the national brands was required to run corrective advertisements.

12. Can you think of a situation in which it would be possible for a very small company to achieve success by using advertising? Discuss such a situation.

13. Does your opinion of the value of advertising differ for its use for products like detergents and toothpastes as opposed to large durable items such as television sets, washing machines and automobiles? How does your opinion differ? Is the process of communication different in each of these cases?

14. Cable television provides the prospect of a large number of television channels, each reaching a specific market segment.

Advertising and Consumerism

14. (cont.)

How does this prospect change your view of the value of advertising? How will advertising's positive and negative aspects be changed by the availability of more and more selective television channels?

TOPIC 7 USING THE MASS MEDIA FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES

> This is the beginning of a whole new concept. This is it. This is the way they'll be elected forevermore. The next guys will have to be performers.
>
> Roger Ailes, producer of 1968 Nixon TV Commercials

Ever since General Eisenhower used 20-second TV spot announcements in his 1952 presidential campaign, the ethics and techniques of campaign selling have been a matter of controversy. Many see the packaging and selling of a candidate like detergent as a threat to the democratic process and deplore the oversimplification of personality and issues this involves. John Whale, a television journalist with experience of both British and American politics, puts this objection in perspective: "Politicians already have an urge to simplify: partly to be understood, partly to be persuasive, partly because they may not fully understand the issue themselves. Television abets them."

Television's help is costly and the most publicized source of alarm has been the massive expenditure on political advertising. The fear is that the electorate is being bought. It is estimated that at least $140 million was spent on all political campaigns in 1952; $155 million in 1956; $175 million in 1960; $200 million in 1964 and more than $250 million in 1968. When President Nixon vetoed a bill in late 1970 limiting campaign expenditures TV critic Jack Gould considered the

denunciation of this action to be chiefly notable for its naivete. "No realist in the TV medium," he wrote, "thought for one moment that the White House would throw away its economic advantage in drowning the opposition in spot commercials or staged discussions, either in the current campaign or in 1972."

Politicians spend these sums convinced that electoral campaigns are vital to their success; political scientists and sociologists on the other hand question whether political campaigns make a substantial difference, and find it difficult to identify the connection between what people see on TV and how they decide to vote.

Whatever the facts, an industry has emerged to manage campaigns for profit and to charge handsomely for its services. Most agencies deny that they package their clients like detergents: "A candidate for the U.S. Senate is not the same as a new detergent," it is written in the AAAA Manual of Political Campaign Advertising, February 1968, "Most agencies which have accepted political assignments do not look upon their clients in this manner. Usually they are already committed to the candidate and his views. And that commitment is normally accompanied by a belief in the importance of the issues involved."

Some individuals on the periphery of the advertising agency

business have a different view. Eugene Jones, a filmmaker involved in the making of President Nixon's 1968 commercials, says, for example: "I'm a professional. This is a professional job. I was neutral toward Nixon when I started. Now I happen to be for him. But that's not the point. The point is, for the money, I'd do it for almost anybody."

This very professionalism raises ethical questions. Most disturbing to those who fear for the democratic process is the agencies' preference for the marketable man selected on the basis of his "brand name," his capacity to trigger an emotional response from the electorate, his skill in using the mass media, and his ability to project. Others make the point that skill in using the mass media is an important part of most political jobs, and therefore this skill should be highlighted and tested in campaigns.

Statements by several agencies disclaim any influence on the recruitment and selection of the candidate, or on the policies and programs he advocates. They define their role as that of experts in the allocation of campaign resources -- time, talent, and money. Their task is to concentrate their expertise in extensive research programs to profile the electorate and the issues which agitate it, and in developing techniques and strategies for communicating the campaign message.

Using the Mass Media for Political Purposes

To those who foresee and deplore the campaign management industry's evolution into an institution equal in importance to traditional centers of democratic government, agencies retort that through their efforts more people become involved in the political process. Critics question the depth of that involvement and wonder whether involvement at the superficial level usually engaged by political advertising is really to be preferred over no involvement at all.

Behavioral science warns against the belief that political advertising's influence is great. Research into attitude change, for example, has documented the difficulty of achieving such change. The classic study by Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet during the 1940 election which found less than ten per cent conversion from one party to another was followed with similar findings in the 1948, 1952 and 1956 elections. The most common effects of political campaigns seem to be reinforcement of attitudes, to a lesser extent a wavering of attitudinal intensity, and a crystallization of uncertain attitudes.

These findings give some assurance that political advertising, for all its excesses, its vulgarity and simplification, is not as threatening to democracy as is feared. However, since politicians consider advertising vital to success, and are prepared to spend mightily to secure as much of it as possible,

there does seem legitimate concern that politics is becoming increasingly the preserve of the rich. Again John Whale places this concern in perspective. There is a danger, he says, "that the cost of campaigning will exclude the honest poor. A more serious danger for American politics is that it does not always exclude the dishonest poor."

Rich office-seekers may well retain greater independence and integrity than those forced by comparative poverty and ambition into becoming hired hands of the special interests who pick up the advertising tab. Thus the danger is not so much that political advertising buys voters as that it buys politicians.

TOPIC 7 USING THE MASS MEDIA FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES

TOPICAL OUTLINE		REFERENCE KEY
I.	Campaign Management: A New Industry	3, 12
	Selection and Screening of Clients	
	Allocation of Resources -- Time, Talent and Money	
	Research -- profiling the electorate	
	Design of Media Campaign and Message	
II.	Ethical Problems	1, 4, 7, 8
	Agencies' influence on selection of candidates	
	on selection of issues	
III.	Campaign Expenditure	17
IV.	FCC and Politics	6
	Equal Time and the Fairness Doctrine	
V.	Political Advertising, Voting Behavior and Attitude Change	2, 5, 9, 18, 19
VI.	Campaign Case Studies	10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17

TOPIC 7 USING THE MASS MEDIA FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES

Selected Basic Reading:

Mayer, Martin Madison Avenue, U.S.A. New York: Harper, 1958. Chapter 18, "On Politics." A brief review of the Eisenhower campaign followed by a discussion of advertising agencies' involvement in political campaigns and of the objections to it.

Nimmo, Dan The Political Persuaders: The Techniques of Modern Election Campaigns. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970. A description of the campaign management industry and its methods, with examples of how individual media campaigns have been used. Nimmo discusses the ethical problems of political advertising and evaluates such advertising's effectiveness in the light of attitude change research.

Sears, David O. "Political Behavior," in Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson, Handbook of Social Psychology, Revised Edition, Vol. V. A social psychologist's review of political behavior, concentrating primarily on presidential election campaigns and including in-depth discussions of voting studies and of the effects of information on voting decisions. There are sections on media effects in the chapter.

Additional Readings:

1. Advertising Age -- Sam B. Newman, "Agency Exec Makes Plea: Don't Let 'Terrifying Power' of Political Ads Fall into Wrong Hands," Advertising Age, Vol. 42, No. 29, July 19, 1971, pp. 1 ff. The article listed here is an example of the kind of content this journal has on using the mass media for political purposes. In news, editorial and columns material, this journal provides up-to-date information and thought on the political advertising issue.

2. Bem, Daryl J. Beliefs, Attitudes and Human Affairs, Belmont, California: Brooks/Cole, 1970. A concise overview of

the social psychological theory and findings that are applicable to communication and persuasion efforts in society. Witty and accurate, Bem is one of the outstanding young social psychologists.

3. Colley, Russell Defining Advertising Goals for Measured Advertising Results, New York: Association of National Advertisers, 1961. A consultant's view of how advertising should be used for business purposes. This monograph presents the "hierarchy of effects" view of the communication process. As such, it provides valuable background reading on how advertising works or might work in the political process.

4. Felknor, Bruce L. Dirty Politics, New York: Norton, 1966. Felknor includes the use of the news media and advertising in his discussion.

5. Freedman, Jonathan and David Sears "Voters' Preferences Among Types of Information," American Psychologist, Vol. 14, 1963, p. 375. A study of "selective exposure to information" in the political realm.

6. Gillmor, Donald M. and Jerome A. Barron Mass Communication Law: Cases and Comment. St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1969, pp. 667-710. Cases and commentary on FCC provisions preventing broadcasters from favoring one candidate and ignoring others.

7. Journal of Marketing, Vol. 35, No. 3, July 1971. A special issue devoted to social effects and social uses of marketing techniques. This journal consistently has material relevant to social uses of the mass media and governmental affairs. A regular feature of the journal is a section entitled "Legal Developments in Marketing."

8. Kelley, Stanley, Jr. Political Campaigning: Problems in Creating an Informed Electorate, Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1960. Some of the ethical issues and problems for democracy of political campaigning are discussed.

Using the Mass Media for Political Purposes

9. Krugman, Herbert E. "The Impact of Television Advertising: Learning without Involvement," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 29, 1965, pp. 349-356. Krugman espouses a view of the communication process that is somewhat different from the hierarchy of effects view expressed in reference 3. He suggests that the communication process as he sees it may apply to the effectiveness of television advertising having to do with political topics as well as for products and services advertising.

10. Lang, Kurt and Gladys Lang Politics and Television, Chicago: Quadrangle, 1968. Two public opinion researchers and sociologists review the impact of television on the political area and studies relating to that issue.

11. McGinniss, Joe The Selling of the President 1968. New York: Trident Press, 1969. An account of the Nixon campaign by a reporter who lived daily with the technicians, pollsters and ghost writers who packaged the President, an account aptly described as "gruesome and hilarious."

12. Mendelsohn, Harold and Irving Crespi Polls, Television, and the New Politics, Scranton, Pa.: Chandler Publishing, 1970. Two outstanding public opinion researchers review the situation facing politicians in terms of changes in the mass media.

13. Nassau County Election, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, Mimeographed case 1969. This case reviews the 1968 Nassau County Election which was featured in a CBS television program on new techniques in political campaigning. The case provides a good basis for discussion of ethical issues in such campaigning. A film of the television program itself is available from CBS.

14. Ray, Michael L. and John D. Phillips "Hatfield vs. Duncan." In Harper W. Boyd, Jr. and Robert Davis Cases in Marketing Management. Homewood: Richard D. Irwin, (in press). This analysis of the situation facing Mark Hatfield in his 1966 campaign for Senator provides a basis for class discussion and projects.

Using the Mass Media for Political Purposes

15. Rose, Ernest D. and Douglas F. Fuchs "Reagan vs. Brown: A Television Image Playback," Journal of Broadcasting, Vol. 12, 1968. A report of a campaign effects study.

16. Schramm, Wilbur and Richard Carter "The Effectiveness of a Political Telethon," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 23, 1959, pp. 121-127. A study of one type of political campaign tool.

17. Whale, John The Half-Shut Eye: Television and Politics in Britain and America. London: Macmillan, 1969. A thoughtful and perceptive analysis of television's role in politics on both sides of the Atlantic by a British television journalist.

18. Weiss, Walter "Mass Communications," Annual Review of Psychology, Palo Alto, Calif.: Annual Reviews, 1971. The most recent review of the mass communications literature including a section on political campaigns.

19. Zimbardo, Phillip and Ebbe B. Ebbesen Influencing Attitudes and Changing Behavior, Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1969. A short handbook for those individuals who would like to know how to apply social psychological findings to influence campaigns. Some political campaign examples are given.

Using the Mass Media for Political Purposes

Questions for Discussion:

1. Compare and contrast nature and effects of advertising for political candidates as opposed to advertising for detergents and large durable goods such as television sets.

2. Some people say that although political campaigns now overemphasize a candidate's mass media expertise, this is the kind of expertise a political office holder needs on the job anyway. Thus, "image politics" is justified as part of the political process. Do you agree? Why or why not?

3. Several suggestions have been offered to eliminate money as a factor in political success. One is to prohibit political campaigning through advertising in the mass media. Another would eliminate just television advertising. Another would provide equal amounts of funds, for all candidates. What are the pros and cons of each of these suggestions? Which models of the influence process could be used to evaluate the proposals? Which of the proposals, if any, do you prefer? What alternative proposals would you offer? Does it seem politically feasible for any proposal to regulate campaign expenditures to be implemented?

4. One argument in favor of modern political campaigning is that it minimizes the amount of habitual or party voting. Is this true? How would modern mass media methods eliminate this kind of voting? Do you think that this is a favorable aspect of this type of campaigning?

5. Cable television provides the prospect of a large number of television channels, each reaching a specific market segment. How will this affect the use of the media for political campaigning? What new types of regulations will be necessary?

6. Compare the "hierarchy of effects" view of the communication process with Krugman's "low involvement learning" notion. What are the implications of these two points of view for political advertising and its regulation?

7. Advertising agencies often claim that their responsibility for truth-in-advertising rests with presenting the facts provided them by their clients. Do you believe that in political campaigns the agencies have greater responsibility than this? What kinds of precautions should they take to insure the truth of the statements they are asked to present?